

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 290857 TOSEC 310235

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NODIS

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FOL TEL SENT ACTION SECSTATE FROM NAIROBI DTD 29 NOV 1976 QTE

S E C R E T NAIROBI 13332

NODIS CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, RH

SUBJECT: REINHARDT MEETING WITH NYERERE

1. SUMMARY: NYERERE HOPEFUL BUT NOT CERTAIN DATE ISSUE HAS BEEN SETTLED. STILL INSISTS ON "UNEQUIVOCAL" DATE FOR "INDEPENDENCE," "MAJORITY RULE" BEING ATTAINED AT BEGINNING OF INTERIM GOVERNMENT. RECONSTRUCTS RECENT EVENTS TO ARRIVE AT A FORMULA WHICH, IF IT GUIDES NATIONALISTS IN GENEVA, LEAVES SCANT ROOM FOR MANEUVER. WHILE HE STOPPED SHORT OF EXCLUDING A SMITH NEGOTIATING ROLE, HE CAREFULLY RESTRICTS THE ROLE AND CONTINUES TO INSIST THAT GENEVA PROCEEDINGS MUST RESULT IN A TRANSFER OF SMITH'S POWERS TO THE BRITISH. END SUMMARY.

2. IN A FREE-FLOWING DISCUSSION LASTING WELL OVER AN HOUR, PRESIDENT NYERERE (1) HELD OUT DISTINCT HOPE FOR

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 290857 TOSEC 310235

CONVENING A NAMIBIAN CONFERENCE (REPORTED SEPTTEL FROM

DAR); AND (2) REPEATED KNOWN VIEWS, WITH SCATTERED NUANCES, CONCERNING RHODESIA.

3. NYERERE IS NOT CERTAIN THAT THE DATE ISSUE IS COMPLETELY SETTLED, THOUGH HE HOPES SO BECAUSE HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE CONFERENCE MOVE AHEAD. AN "UNEQUIVOCAL, CATEGORICAL, INFLEXIBLE DATE FOR INDEPENDENCE" MUST BE SET BY BRITAIN, BUT IN URGING THIS VIEW SEVERAL TIMES THERE WAS NONE OF THE EMOTIONALISM REPORTED IN HIS CONVERSATION WITH EASUM, NOR AS IN MINE OF TWO WEEKS AGO.

4. I QUICKLY PASSED ON TO DISCUSS THE REALITY OF SMITH'S POWER, HIS PRESENCE IN GENEVA TO NEGOTIATE STRUCTURE OF INTERIM GOVERNMENT LEADING TO MAJORITY RULE, AND OUR HOPE THAT NATIONALISTS WOULD NOW ENGAGE SMITH, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN GENEVA, TO SEEK THE RESULTS WHICH WE ALL WISH.

5. NYERERE WAS PREPARED, COULD NOT UNDERSTAND AMERICANS' CONTINUING EMPHASIS ON THE SMITH "REALITY" AND "POWER." INDEED, HE REMEMBERED, I HAD TOLD HIM THE SAME THING TWO WEEKS AGO OR WHENEVER IT WAS.

6. AFRICANS HAVE ACCEPTED ONLY TWO POINTS MADE BY SMITH ON SEPTEMBER 24: INDEPENDENCE REPEAT INDEPENDENCE (MAKING SHARP DISTINCTION BETWEEN "INDEPENDENCE" AND "MAJORITY RULE" -- OBVIOUSLY A UNILATERAL DISTINCTION) WITHIN TWO YEARS; AND THE NEED TO FORM A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT. AFRICANS, HE CONTINUED, REJECT ALL OTHER POINTS WHICH SMITH "TRIED TO MAKE".

7. IN HIS SPEECH, AS HEARD OR RECONSTRUCTED BY NYERERE, SMITH SAID, IN EFFECT, THAT HE HAD NO POWER: THE U.S., UK, AND SA HAD CONVINCED SMITH THAT WORLD "REALITY" DEMANDED HIS DIVESTITURE OF POWER. SO NOW HE SHOULD SIMPLY TURN POWER OVER TO THE BRITISH, IN GENEVA, AND THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT COULD BEGIN.

8. I OBSERVED THAT HIS AT BEST IS A SINGULAR READING
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 290857 TOSEC 310235

OF THE SMITH SPEECH, THAT I COULD UNDERSTAND HIS CONCERN ABOUT THE COUNCIL OF STATE AND PERHAPS OTHER FORMULATIONS, BUT THAT HE SEEMED TO BE SAYING SMITH WAS NOT TO NEGOTIATE THESE AND POSSIBLY OTHER DIFFERENCES IN GENEVA.

9. FOR THE MOMENT HE DID NOT WANT TO DISCUSS NEGOTIATIVE ROLES; HE WOULD RETURN TO THAT SUBJECT.

10. INSTEAD, I GOT HIS VERSION OF RECENT EVENTS. ON AUGUST 28 ("I WON'T FORGET THAT DATE") HE TOLD ROGERS AND SCHAUFELLE: "LEAVE RHODESIA ALONE, SMITH'S NOT READY." BUT ROGERS AND SCHAUFELLE "CONVINCED ME" THAT WITH AMERICAN AND SOUTH AFRICAN NUDGING SMITH MAY YIELD AND THE "MEN WITH THE GUNS" MAY NOT HAVE TO CONTINUE. THIS, TO NYERERE THEN AND NOW, MEANT A DIVERSTITUDE OF POWER.

11. THE CONTEMPORARY HISTORIAN CONTINUED: THE SECRETARY CAME TO DAR IN SEPTEMBER, AND AFTER TALKING WITH HIM, NYERERE STATED PUBLICALLY THAT HE WAS "NOT HOPEFUL." UPON THE SECRETARY'S RETURN FROM SOUTH AFRICA, NYERERE BECAME "SOMEWHAT MORE OPTIMISTIC," BELIEVING, HE ARGUED, THAT SMITH WOULD "TRANSFER POWER."

12. I INTERVENED: YES, A PROCESS DESIGNED TO LEAD TO A TRANSFER OF POWER WAS STARTED IN SEPTEMBER. SMITH'S SPEECH WAS THE FIRST PUBLIC STEP. THE CONFERENCE IN GENEVA TO NEGOTIATE THE STRUCTURE OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT IS A SECOND STEP. THE WHOLE PROCESS WILL LEAD TO MAJORITY RULE WITHIN TWENTY-FOUR MONTHS, WHICH IS ALL THAT ANYONE ENVISIONED IN SEPTEMBER, THOUGH SEEMING AGREEMENT IN GENEVA YESTERDAY MAY MEAN MARCH 1, 1978, OR EVEN CONCEIVABLY DECEMBER 1, 1977. BUT NEGOTIATING AND COMPROMISING ARE BY DEFINITION NECESSARY TO ESTABLISH AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT.

13. SUCH IS NOT NYERERE'S UNDERSTANDING, AND HE WAS NOW READY TO RETURN TO MY QUESTION ABOUT NEGOTIATIONS
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 290857 TOSEC 310235

AND SMITH'S ROLE IN GENEVA.

14. HE STRONGLY IMPLIED BUT CAREFULLY REFRAINED FROM STATING THAT THERE IS NO NEGOTIATING ROLE FOR SMITH IN GENEVA. HE DOES NOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF BRITAIN NEGOTIATING WITH SMITH TO TRANSFER CERTAIN POWERS (CONSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES, DEFENSE, AND EXTERNAL AFFAIRS) TO THE UK AND ALL REMAINING POWERS TO THE AFRICANS. THE AFRICANS, WHO WOULD ONLY HAVE A GOVERNMENT OF CONSENSUS DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PHASE, MAY WELL GIVE SOME PORTFOLIOS TO WHITES SUCH AS TODD BUT IN NO CIRCUMSTANCE TO ANY WHITE EVEN REMOTELY ASSOCIATED WITH SMITH AND HIS PARTY. IN THIS ARRANGEMENT THE BLACKS, "PEOPLE LIKE JOSHUA," WOULD HAVE THE "PICTURE OF POWER" AND

BRITAIN WOULD HAVE, FOR THE DURATION OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT, "THE REALITY OF POWER."

15. AGAIN I STATED THAT HE SEEMED TO BELIEVE THAT SMITH HAD GONE TO GENEVA FOR THE PURPOSE OF UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER, WHICH THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE RECORD WOULD SHOW WAS NOT THE INTENTION OF ANYONE INVOLVED IN THE PROCESS BEGINNING LAST SEPTEMBER.

16. WELL, HE HAD NOT TALKED ABOUT "UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER" BUT WAS SIMPLY INDICATING WHAT GENUINE "REALITY" IS FOR THE AFRICANS. NOW THAT THE DATE ISSUE SEEMS TO BE SETTLED, THE BRITISH SHOULD PROCEED ALONG THE LINES HE HAD OUTLINED AND END THE GENEVA PHASE ON DECEMBER 20 AS PROMISED.

17. SO IT WENT UNTIL WE MOVED ON TO THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION BUT NOT BEFORE NYERERE, AT MY SUGGESTION, MADE TWO RECOMMENDATIONS ABOUT THE SECRETARY'S ROLE DURING THE NEXT TWO MONTHS: (1) PRESS THE BRITISH TO NEGOTIATE AND ACCEPT TRANSFERRED POWER SO THAT AN AGREEMENT CAN COME OUT OF GENEVA; AND (2) ASSURE CONTINUED U.S. INTEREST AND DETERMINATION THAT AGREEMENTS ARE CARRIED OUT DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD ("GET CARTER COMMITTED").

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 290857 TOSEC 310235

18. COMMENT: ONE IS STRUCK FIRST BY THE SIMILARITY OF CURRENT VIEWS BETWEEN KAUNDA AND NYERERE, THOUGH THE LATTER HAS MORE CAREFULLY CONSTRUCTED HIS. I KNOW OF NO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT OTHERS AMONG THE FRONTLINE DO NOT ADVANCE THE SAME ARGUMENTS OR PERHAPS EVEN MORE EXTREME ONES. BEYOND NYERERE'S OBFUSCATION AND RECONSTRUCTED HISTORY IS THE FEAR THAT SMITH WILL WRIGGLE OUT ONCE MORE; HE IS DETERMINED TO USE THE BRITISH, SUPPORTED BY AMERICANS AND SOUTH AFRICANS, TO GAIN WHAT HE CALLS A "CLEAN BREAK," REGARDLESS OF THE PROCESS BEGUN LAST SUMMER AND CONSUMMATED IN SEPTEMBER.

19. OBVIOUSLY HE WAS STATING HIS MAXIMUM TERMS TO THE SECRETARY THROUGH ME. I DID NOT GET THE IMPRESSION THAT HE WOULD RECOMMEND TO THE NATIONALISTS THAT THEY REFUSE TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE SMITH FORCES IN GENEVA, NOR THAT THE TERMS SPELLED OUT IN THIS CONVERSATION ARE THE FINAL ONES. BUT EVEN IF HE REDUCES HIS TERMS, HE IS HEADED IN DIRECTIONS NOT ENCOMPASSED IN ANY OF THE PLANS LEADING TO GENEVA. I LEFT HIM WITH NO DOUBT THAT HE IS CHANGING THE RULES IN THE

MIDDLE OF THE GAME, BUT ABOUT ALL I GOT IN RETURN
WAS THE FAMOUS GRIN, PROTESTATIONS OF AFRICAN
INNOCENSE, A SLAP OR TWO ON HIS THIGHS, AND HIS HOPE
THAT "REAL INDEPENDENCE" WILL MIRACULOUSLY SPRING
FROM GENEVA.
MARSHALL UNQTE ROBINSON

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